1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

491 457 At times, one comes across an unusually good road system in what would at first seem to be an isolated area and learns, as in the case of the area south of Volos, that emigrants from these communities, who went to Egypt, sent back large sums of money for the construction of these roads, which were built at heavy cost per kilometer because of the great amount of masonry work needed. Near Xourichti, in this same area, we 443 came across a small unpadlocked building on the main road connected by a path with the village seen in the distance. We learned that this was the place where villagers left their money and orders for purchases desired from Volos. When a truck driver passed that way he would stop, pick up the money and the orders, and do the necessary shopping in Volos. When he came back he would leave the purchases in the little house, perhaps toot his horn or flash his lights, and people from the village would come to get [577] their new possessions. There were no thefts, no shortchanging, in this area of mutual trust where, before World War II, it was safe for a young woman to walk anywhere through the mountains at night unattended.

491 178 In Epirus, across Greece from this Volos area, life is lived in a different historical and physical setting. In order to learn what effect a new road had upon village people there, we went to the village of Tsepelovo. On August 20, 1952 — only a few months prior to our visit — the first automobile had arrived at the village, using the road that had been built to open up a large forest to be exploited for the people's benefit. As we sat in the office of the community council and talked to the village secretary, [494] we learned what the road had already accomplished for this village. The [804] first advantage mentioned was the lowered transportation costs, for the hauling charges per oka (2.8 pounds) by truck are only one fifth or one fourth of those by donkey. When pressed to give other results, the secretary put it this way:

[342] Now we can build homes with sand and cement; formerly it was too expensive to carry these in by animals. Formerly we built our stone houses with lime and mud as mortar, and that is why they tend to crumble so quickly.
[438] Here we produce about 14,000 okas (about 20 tons) of walnuts each year. We received little for them because of the transportation charges; now the merchant comes here in a truck and pays us cash and gives a higher price. Today we can also sell our lumber because, before the road came, we couldn't very well strap long boards to the donkeys.
[484] We used to spend twelve-and-a-half hours going by animal to Ioannina, the only large city nearby. Now we do it in two-and-a-half hours by car. The grocer [735] can sell fresh goods, whereas formerly he had only staples. Although we had great riches here, we also had great poverty so that beggars would go from house to house. The road reduces this inequality. Many of our men who had no other income earned much money working on the construction.
[758] In case we get sick we can be carried down by car and not have to ride a donkey.

1:Sanders Z-5,A (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[P. 156]

[VIII]

Courtship and Marriage

177 834 581 593 A young woman, who had grown up in the traditionally sheltered way in a Greek village, after spending several months in an American university, made these comments:

> The father here in America is like a brother instead of a father.
>
> I like the way the American mother reasons with the children and doesn't order them around.
>
> In Greece you never tell anybody about your boy friend — not even your parents. Over here people talk about private matters. If you should do so in Greece, your parents would throw you out of the house.
>
> In Greece we marry for love; in America you love without marrying.

831 834 593 [581] One may question the last statement as far as the Greek villager's marrying for love is concerned; but there is no question about the Greeks' stress upon keeping the boys and girls apart until they are married. The honor, or chastity, of the bride is a value of great importance, and any breach of the sex mores may have dire social consequences. To be sure, there are violations of this taboo and in many areas a gradual erosion of the rigid enforcement, but in rural Greece one can count upon parents and brothers actively to try to safeguard a young woman's honor. This is even institutionalized in what is called *e time tou adelphou* (the honor of the brother),

[577]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

for the brother is supposed either to avenge any violator of his sister's honor or, if she is to blame, to punish her. Whereas formerly he was supposed to act swiftly, today he tries to get the man to marry his sister; if the man does not, then the brother, "if he wants to rinse the honor of the family," beats or kills the man. He may kill his sister if she is thought responsible. Nowadays matters seldom come to such an extreme point, but the tradition of protection is still very strong. The folksongs reinforce it, as shown by these summaries of two from the island of Euboea.[1]

The Betrayal

A bad young girl dressed herself in European clothes, got her lover and went to the coffeehouse. She ordered the proprietor to bring coffee and the hubble-bubble (narghile, or pipe whose smoke passes through water). Two friends of her brother betrayed her. They said to the brother: "Why do you sit there, Vangeles, and do not go to the coffeehouse to see your sister who 'drinks' the hubble-bubble?"

Vangeles got up and went to the coffeehouse and found the bad sister who was "drinking" the narghile. "Get up, Eurydice, to see your shame. You, who have put me and all our family to shame."

He thrust his knife in her twice in the right side, striking the liver and half of the heart. Two words the poor thing was able to say before she dropped and was dead: "The friends of my brother were my death because I had the courage to have a boy friend." The friends of the brother took her up, carried her home, and handed her over to her mother.

Soussa

Soussa, the willowy, the pride of Kyme, loved Saribeys, the handsomest boy of the village. He loved her and she loved him for fifteen years. She had a brother who was away with the consuls; every morning she would sit on her bed, take her little handkerchief and fill it with tears. Her master [lover] asks her, "What is wrong with our Soussaki? Why does she sit and cry?" and her mother tells her, "Hush, my Soussa, don't cry and don't torment yourself. For your sake your brother is roaming in foreign countries."

At night, at midnight, they heard bang after bang on the door. Her mother shouted to her and her master told her, "Get up, my Soussa, open and see who is outside." Soussa got up, opened, and saw her brother. Immediately she thought and she became faint [her eyesight became shorter]. Her brother said, "You turned the house into a brothel. I cannot stand it." He pulled his little knife out of the golden sheath, thrust it in her heart like a worthy *pallekari* [handsome young man, brave fighter for freedom].

"Soussa, mine, who killed you? May he be cursed. May he wear my curse forever as an amulet."

There are conflicting stories about what actually occurs in villages throughout Greece. From the Peloponnesos I received the reply: "In our village there is very strict control between unmarried boys and girls. Not

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

for enemy sympathizers, thus presenting a wonderful chance for the unscrupulous person to denounce a fellow villager with whom he wants to even an old score. In the choice of sides in the Communist-inspired guerrilla war, for example, definite factions came into existence and their lines have not been altogether obliterated today.

Despite factionalism and the lack of idyllic harmony, it is correct to say that most villagers feel a sense of community. It may seem entirely absent whenever people are trying to persuade the villagers to carry out community improvements from which they can see no immediate benefit, but it is there to be reckoned with whenever the reputation or the safety of the community is threatened. To try to explain the basis for this sense of community is to review much of what has already been said, but perhaps it can be understood in terms of four divergent strands: *philotimo*, or ultrasensitive self-esteem; a common living space; shared institutions; and an accepted system of social control.

Philotimo. Social phenomena in Greece must be seen first in terms of individuals, who in turn cannot be understood without recognizing the national trait of philotimo. Dorothy Lee has clearly explained this complex character trait:

> Everyone has his *philotimo*, as an individual, as a member of a family, and, most of all, as a Greek. On this rests Greek individualism, since it is sheer being which is respected, not position in the world or achievement. On this rests Greek democracy and equality, since everyone, both as a person and as a Greek, is equal to everyone else, neither superior nor inferior. . . . This does not mean that there is lacking a balance of roles or interpersonal structuring; but these relationships of interdependence, of leader and followers, of division of areas of responsibility and work are not cast in the mold of superiority and inferiority. Inferiority comes only with the forfeiting of the *philotimo*. . . . The inner core of the Greek must never be exposed; and *entrope*, the Greek word for shame, modesty, decency, propriety, self-consciousness, embarrassment, means: "turning inward." This is a concept both positive and negative: you have done something shameful only because you have failed in the positive aspect, in modesty and decency. Out of *entrope* a Greek avoids saying things and doing things which would reflect on the *philotimo* of himself, his family, his country. For example, the self-made man in Greece does not boast of his rags-to-riches progress. This would expose the poverty of his village, the inability of his family to help him, the fact that his uncle or his godfather could not or did not do his duty by him; it would expose much that should remain decently covered, and would further prove him to be lacking in *philotimo*.[3]

Dr. Lee then goes on to explain that the essence of philotimo is inviolability and freedom and that the sense of inviolability makes a Greek extremely "touchy." An offended philotimo leads to retaliation, not self-reproach. She writes:

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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To suggest to a Greek that he needs aid in raising his standard of living because his ways are backward is to violate his *philotimo* as a person and as a Greek. There is need for aid now because of acts of God, not because of personal failure or Greek inadequacy. . . .

621 156 577 182

One may well ask how this trait of self-esteem is related to a sense of community. The connection is twofold: first, the adult member of the community participates as a free agent and as an expression of his own individuality; he can cooperate because he feels free, and by the same token he can refuse to cooperate. But the second connection makes him think seriously before refusing to cooperate, for he would be shaming himself and others if he let his village down. Yet the sense of community need not be limited to formal cooperation; it can be a state of mind as well, a feeling of loyalty one carries about, and a deep psychological identification with the village where one was born and in which one grew up.

621 182

A common living space. One writer attributes the unity of the Greek village to the residents' dependence upon their physical environment:

[423]

First, the people are directly dependent on the land, hence their interests are all one. Second, the village owns grazing lands and meadows used in common by the farmers. Third, the people are highly interdependent in respect to water supply. Thus a sense of cooperation pervades the village. Fourth, the people of the village are limited in their actions by the very village's physical structure; the width of the streets, the pavement or lack of pavements, and degree of crookedness of same. Lastly, the whole physical lay-out is such that ceremonials and rituals as repeated year-in and year-out by slow processions, must change even if the ceremonials were to become mechanized.[8]

An earlier chapter on the village setting has discussed this factor, which must be taken into account in considering the identification people feel with their village. People develop a "sense of belonging" with those who walk the same village lanes, send their animals to the same community pastures, draw water from the same wells or fountains, and share the same living space. This propinquity does not necessarily produce a liking for everyone frequently encountered, but it calls for the recognition that these neighbors or fellow villagers must be dealt with in solving many of the ordinary affairs of life.

Shared institutions. Partly related to the physical pattern of the village are the church, the school, and the office of the local government, whose very structures are visible and concrete signs of the institutional complex which they embody. But these institutions are more than a material expression; they are also the focal points of the values which the people inherit and pass on to their children. On the basis of these, people ascribe rank to each other; on the basis of these, people make decisions relative to what activities are most worthy and which are least worthy. Community

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

life, as well as individual life, has its evaluative mechanisms which are brought into play in problem solving. The local institutions, described so fully in previous chapters, either have certain kinds of problems which they are supposed to treat, or the institutional leaders are sometimes called in to help deal with situations too grave for any single institution to handle. Again, the sense of community which a Greek villager develops is based in part not only upon sharing with others the activities which these institutions perpetuate, but also in knowing that he and his family are dependent upon them for meeting many of life's basic needs and aspirations.

The introduction of formal organizations into the Greek village, although they may accomplish certain specific goals, can also have the net effect of introducing new cleavages. The local institutions as described have been inclusive in that almost everyone in the village who wanted to could participate in them, with some allowances made for sex and age differences. But organizations bring in the idea of members and nonmembers. Some belong; others do not. Where membership is interpreted as signifying that the member is superior to or better than the nonmember, it causes resentment within that village where organizations are relatively new and not much appreciated. This may even run counter to the local value system. Yet experience in other societies, and even in the urban sectors of Greek society, has shown that economic development — which many peasants ardently desire — is based on specialization. This, in turn, is promoted by organizations which encourage and sustain this specialization. Society, even in the village, becomes more heterogeneous as the level of living rises, as the number of alternative choices (occupational, recreational, and such) increase, and as greater reliance is placed upon the individual.

Therefore, in understanding the traditional sense of community one must see the countervailing tendency to organize along specialized lines and to promote individual rather than community interests. In an industrialized society this means that a new kind of solidarity, based on functional interdependence, replaces that solidarity based on homogeneity and a common view of world and work.[5] Very often in the shift from the traditional to the more complex type, individuals and communities experience disorganization which, in time, leads to a reorganization better adapted to new needs. Closely related to the degree and type of disorganization is the system of social control and how it operates.

Social control. In Greece, as elsewhere, the most effective social controls are built into the personality structure of a person as he grows up. He learns what his society considers to be morally right and wrong and, if "well brought up," does not question these standards and, more often than not, abides by them; he also learns what is appropriate and inappropriate behavior at given times and places; he knows, too, that in a particular situation some people (say, the oldest men present) behave differently from

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

others present, for there are prescribed roles that go with the position one holds at a given time. Social control tends to enforce the playing of these prescribed roles and to discourage the highly individualistic variations to which others are not prepared to respond.

Without attempting to trace the complete system of operating controls in a Greek village, I shall mention some of the methods encountered as supplements to many already dealt with in earlier chapters.

The most far-reaching controls have to do with the taking of human life. Today in most parts of Greece this has passed into the hands of the police and the legal system, but some generations ago it was common for family members to think that they themselves should deal with anyone who killed a kinsman.

From time to time, I would ask in a village whether any serious crimes had been committed and would hear of an isolated case — such as the woman who, a few years ago, as the result of a boundary dispute, had picked up a stone and killed a man, thereafter being put in jail for a year or so. Usually, people said, the relatives help settle disputes.

Or, when I asked what would happen locally if a person were caught stealing, I was told: "We don't have such people here. If anyone did steal the villagers would exclude him; they would ostracize him so he couldn't stand it. They would also take him to court."

But for most villagers the controls deal with behavior which is not considered criminal. Photiadis shows one way in which this operates:

> The father is the leader, and family members want to please him, and he in turn takes care of the whole family. If a mother sees her adolescent daughter mingling with boys more than is expected, she will reprimand her by saying "you are ridiculing your father," or "the men at the coffeehouse will laugh at you."

He contends that the coffeehouse operates as a social control over the family through the father, "who is confronted directly by the opinions of the cliques that form it and operate as reference groups for the rest of the population in the village." It is also true that social control operates in much the same way for the women through the neighborhood "gossiping groups."

Even in Athens one is aware that the social controls from the village still pursues the individual. A Greek friend asked her dressmaker why she did not wear dresses with short sleeves and was told that she could not. "But don't you get hot?" "Oh, I would rather get hot," replied the dressmaker, "than have people gossiping about me in the village."

A group of village girls in a special course at Pierce College near Athens, when asked what the people of their communities would do if anyone went counter to prevailing norms, compiled this list:

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

tinue at only a slightly diminished rate. But the villagers' conception of the separation as a drama of great significance is based on the change in point of view which accompanies it. Henceforth, each small family is free to develop its own resources as it wishes. The different personalities of the brothers and their wives manifest themselves in the way they administer their property and raise their children, and, most importantly each brother can now freely give his entire loyalty to his own wife and children and consider all new situations from the standpoint of how they will affect the smaller unit. He is now at liberty, in the village view, to make decisions advantageous to himself, even at the expense of his brothers. The burden of consideration for the welfare of others has been lifted and the brothers are now as free as the rest of the villagers to be rivals of each other. This is not to say that all kinship rights and obligations towards one's adult brothers and sisters and their children disappear, but rather that the emphasis of most intense concern shifts at the time of property division. Indeed, it is generally agreed that the longer harmonious relations among the brothers can be maintained, the better. As a matter of fact, it is just for the sake of keeping good relations that the villagers claim they draw lots for the patrimony. They explain that by so doing, they can manage the business of dividing the property *me aghapi* (with love). No brother can blame any other for the particular share he happened to draw.

The villagers take it for granted that neither impartiality nor altruism is possible in situations which involve one's own interests. They do not believe that anyone, even one's own brother, can act fairly out of principle. Therefore, they feel, some mechanism is required to enforce equity. The strength of their mistrust of the fairness of others is illustrated by a villager's response to a question as to why the mother was not invited into the deliberations. (Mothers who are still active normally have the respect of their adult sons and participate in other kinds of decisions.) The son explained that it was because she might show favoritism toward one of the sons. This explanation was given in spite of the fact that the lot system effectively makes it impossible for anyone to implement favoritism. It is chance that makes the decision as to who gets which share and when faced with the operation of uncontrollable forces of the universe, the Greek villagers say, "*Ti na kanume,*" "What can we do?" From their point of view, adverse decisions left to chance are easier to bear than decisions made by self-seeking humans. Therefore, in situations over which they could have control, they prefer, if possible, to rearrange the situation into one in which chance, or fate, if you will, makes the final decision.

In the late 1950's, the number of households in which any married son was still living with his father and mother was small, and there were none in which several married sons were living this way. The reasons for this are first, the decreasing number of sons who are remaining farmers; second, the age distribution of Vasilika's male population (relatively few men in the marriageable age group); and third, the increasing age for marriage even of farming sons. Five of Vasilika's elementary family households were the result of the separation of two sets of brothers in the early 1950's. In Vasilika, therefore, the exist-

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)/963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

management, they recognized the work of their women as contributing labor value, but in the context of the dowry, they did not see the situation this way.

The villagers act and talk as if they felt that it is the obligation of men to care for women, and that the obligation is largely fulfilled by the provision of a dowry for a daughter. The provision of the dowry is thus, in a sense, an outward manifestation of masculinity. By village custom, when a father dies or is incapacitated, a girl's brothers are considered responsible for marrying her off, and they are usually expected to fulfill this obligation before they themselves marry. This point of view does not correspond with the legal requirements. In the Civil Code (Section 1496) the mother is responsible for furnishing dowries for her daughters in the event of her husband's death or incapacity. The village attitude, however, I believe, is based partly on the feeling that most women are not capable of managing their estates and on the congruent custom of appointing male guardians to manage for them until their sons are grown, but more importantly on the basic notion that the provision of dowries is a male prerogative.

The emotional overtones accompanying the dowry system may be understood as a possible shift of emphasis from one kind of expression of male honor to another. Anthropologists who have worked in Greek Cypriot villages and in shepherd communities[3] report that the males in these settlements, almost all equally poor, based their sense of manly prestige not on wealth, but on the degree of honor they achieved by the protection of the chastity of their women. It would seem as if, in Boeotia, male honor depends not only on male protection of the chastity of women but also more explicitly and obviously on the provision by the men of adequate dowries for their women. The sense of satisfaction a man gets from dowering a daughter becomes more intense and compelling because the action is also an expression of his masculinity.

The shift of emphasis can be demonstrated in the village. Among the shepherds and landless or land-poor families in the village, girls marry earlier, with small dowries and trousseaus, and acquire correspondingly less prosperous husbands. The fathers and brothers involved, and the other villagers, comment on these unions by saying that early marriages are essential because otherwise the girls might run wild and disgrace the family. In other words, then, when economic means are limited, men can maintain their honor and self-respect only by protecting their women, and this becomes the paramount concern. The villagers seem to recognize that when there is no hope for even the modest degree of economic security and material well-being that the dowries of Vasilika's landowning farmers can provide, there is less impetus for the girl herself to remain virtuous or for her prospective suitors to respect her situation without the added emphasis on physical retaliation by her menfolk. However, flamboyant behavior and clandestine affairs could destroy the hope of a decent marriage for a girl whose father can provide a reasonable dowry. Or such actions might require an exorbitant dowry to overcome the effects of her bad reputation. For these girls, the rewards of waiting are great enough for them to be willing to postpone both

[3] John Peristiany and John Campbell, respectively.

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

583 marriage and affairs, so that there is less danger that they will allow themselves
593 to be compromised and less need to claim male protection.

Yet, with all the difficulties and sacrifices required by the dowry and
[182] arranged marriage system in Vasilika, there have been very few young people
[836] who have "gone to the mountains," as the villagers phrase elopements of
[577] couples who have fallen in love. One or two such affairs seem to occur in each generation, at a time when the girl's male relatives are dead or not in the village; and among young people each of whose families have relatively few economic
[558] resources. The subsequent standard of living of the couples has been among the lowest in the village, and the men never fully recover from the stigma of such senseless behavior, from the villagers' view. Observable examples reinforce the villagers' argument that there is no hope for a decent life without a dowry, and reinforce their admonitions to their sons to wait for properly arranged marriages and not to be *trelos* (crazy) and run off to the mountains with a girl. The admonition gains force from the further observation that if the eloping young couples have little, their children will have still less. Any man who accepts a girl without a dowry is thought to be cheating his children of their rightful inheritance from their mother.

[183] Yet, as we have had occasion to remark in other connections, the structure of marriage arrangements in Vasilika is not quite as rigid and as precise as the foregoing generalized description might imply. One Vasilika brother, in speaking of a sister who had become his responsibility after their father's death, remarked "Glory be to God (and he crossed himself) she met a man who liked her and was willing to take her with nothing but the *rukha* and what we had
[533] in the house." The unexpected can happen in Vasilika, and infant girls are still dandled with songs about how their beauty will some day attract a husband without a dowry.

Family and Kin Structure

59
583 The foregoing discussion of family activities and of the forms of
182 property inheritance and circulation has by implication involved questions of family structure. By giving a newly married couple property of its own to manage, the dowry serves as a mechanism to separate the newly married couple structurally from either of their two sets of parents. This is true even when the farmers bring their brides back to their fathers' households. Such patrilocal residence produces the temporary situation of a functioning, cooperative, extended, patrilineal kin group, but one that is continually aware of its distinct component elementary families. We have said temporary because there is no contemplation that the several elementary family groups concerned will live out their lives in a joint, cooperative household.

601 The kinship terminology used in the village is congruent with the struc-
171 ture underlying the realities and expectations of the situation just described. Greek terms of reference for mother, father, grandfather, grandchildren, cousin,

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 413 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

855 Lying to children as a kind of palliative occurs in less dramatic ways
865 as well. On one occasion, a mother was washing the legs of her two-year-old daughter. The child was standing on a table to be nearer the small water container hanging on the wall. When her mother finished, the girl did not want to come down off the table. She resisted, stamping her feet and calling for more water to play with. Her mother told her in a mild tone that there was no more water. This did not satisfy the child; she resisted further and finally the mother turned the spigot on and let her play with the water, of which there was quite a supply, for a few more minutes until the girl herself was ready to stop.

855 In both these instances the child easily detected the deceit of his elders.
867 However, since there are occasions on which his father actually is in the next room and does give him candy, and other occasions when the water actually has run out, a child cannot know in advance when he is being deceived and
[593] when he is not. Inconsistency in the actions of elders results in a wariness in accepting or rejecting the statements of others, even within the family. Children may learn to love and respect their elders, but it is not required that they trust them completely.

● 577 Lying to children is one aspect of the general attitude toward truth and
867 falsity characteristic of the village's adults. In the village the word for lies, *psemata,* is used much more freely, with less emotional intensity, and with a
156 milder pejorative connotation than Americans use the English word. "Let's tell a few more lies and then go home," a man once remarked jovially near the end
[578] of a social evening. To accuse someone of mendacity is not the gross insult it is in the United States; it may be meant as a statement of fact in a situation in which, in village expectation, it would not be unusual for a person to attempt some deception. As in the training of children, some form of deception as a means of achieving a particular good is acceptable as a technique for conducting one's affairs in the village or with outsiders. Each man and woman expects to develop skills both in the art of guilefulness and in the art of detecting guilefulness in others. Vasilika's villagers are not humiliated because someone tries to deceive them; they become angry only if the deception succeeds. In other words, if a person is gullible enough to have been misled, he gets angry at the deceiver for having made a fool of him, and this results in accusations and counter-accusations. The standard phrase for deceptions means literally "He has made a laughing stock of me," *"Me yelase."* Older children who have learned to turn the tables on their parents and try to deceive them are admired even as they are scolded. Certainly any child who, in mild ways, learns to take advantage of a neighbor or another villager is privately approved of by his parents as *"ponyiros,"* "cleverly bad," although the neighbors use less ambivalent epithets.

156 The constant vigilance necessary to avert becoming a dupe is certainly
577 one of the sources of tension in the conduct of human relations in the village.
578 An American must not make the mistake of assuming, however, that these strains have the same effect on Vasilika's inhabitants that they would have on middle-class Americans whose training has included a stress on consistency and truthfulness. In Vasilika, the expectation of, and conditioning for, deceit does not

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

eliminate the objective, realistic discomforts of living with somewhat unpredictable human beings, but the cultural expectation does seem to eliminate some of the intensity generated by the conflict.

The total situation does not result in an inability to predict the behavior of others to the point of chaos in human relationships, but rather in an expectation on the part of the villagers of a wide range of alternative actions and responses by others. There is uncertainty within set limits, but there is also an enjoyment of, and a taste for, the unpredictable. In a sense, when the villagers know each other so well that they can predict reactions with some precision, they are bored and look for other diversion.

Conversation and Argument

So far, teasing and deceptive acts have been stressed as elements in the contest of human relations. We may now turn to another type of weapon: conversation and argument. Students of Greek society and culture invariably mention the Greek's love of talk. The villagers of Vasilika are not different in this respect. Again, even infants become accustomed to a stream of conversation whenever others are around them, and they themselves are talked to and are assumed to make responses. When babies cry they are often said to be talking, *"Milai to moro,"* and *milai* is the standard word for talk. If a baby hiccoughs, they say it is talking to someone who is absent, such as a maternal grandmother in another village. By listening to the talk around him, and by participating in it, the young child learns the functions of speech. In the village, children may be told to be quiet when they interrupt adult conversation, but this occurs only when the elders do not want to be interrupted. Children are not silenced on any general principle that they should be seen and not heard.

A child in the village quickly learns that some kinds of conversations communicate information, that others are merely a verbal accompaniment to activities, and still others are a form of recreation and part of the contest in human relations. Inside their homes children hear discussions of plans for the day and speculations about the weather and about neighbors. This kind of talk is a form of fairly direct transfer of thought and information. The child also learns that many ordinary, apparently routine activities are carried on to the accompaniment of a stream of comment and advice and that only a small proportion of what is said genuinely influences the person to whom the advice is given. For example, if neighbors are visiting with a woman who is about to place some loaves of bread in the oven, a discussion ensues as to what design to use for the slits in the top of the loaf, as to whether the bread has risen sufficiently, and as to whether the oven is hot enough. The housewife may have been baking bread every week or so for twenty years, but the discussion could easily give an outsider the impression that she was a novice. Agricultural decisions, such as on just how to place a few corn plants in amongst the rows of cotton, are discussed anew each year. Even at a baptism in Vasilika, the ceremony is punctuated by comments as to whether the baptismal water is too hot or too cold and as to how to wrap the

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

a glimpse of the stranger. Instead of ignoring the child's discomfort, the mother went over to her saying, in a sarcastic tone, "Why don't you come out and show the lady your beautiful clean dress?" As we reached the little girl, the mother pulled at the child's dress and said, "See, Mrs. Ernestine, how clean she is?" And she said to the child, "Are you afraid to show yourself?" The child squirmed on the window ledge, held her fist to her mouth, and stared at me through these proceedings. She said nothing.

When older children misbehaved, parents sometimes threatened to tell the schoolteacher what they had done, with the implication that they would be both disgraced and punished.

Shame continues as a noticeable attribute of women throughout their lives. But as boys get older, an effort is made to enhance another component of their internal behavior, their love of honor (*filotimo*). A man expresses his masculinity by his love of honor; it is a necessary component of his self-esteem or *amour propre*. In Vasilika, a man gives expression to his *filotimo* by his fulfillment of his obligations to his family and especially to his women, by his ability to participate adequately in the daily give-and-take with other men, and by his knowledge of appropriate behavior toward visitors and guests of higher social position. A particular incident will illustrate: During a conversation with a bank manager in his town office, we were interrupted by a villager who wanted to talk to the manager. The manager told him kindly that he was busy; at a second interruption by the same man, the manager said to the villager, "Please leave us alone; don't you see I have guests here; have you no *filotimo?*" The man left immediately and did not return. The official had appealed to the man's own self-esteem to influence a change in his behavior. Moreover, if he had had to reprimand the man more fully before foreigners, the manager and the culprit would both have lacked *filotimo* as Greeks.

Self-esteem is also maintained in the village by a tendency to attribute failures to some outer conditions rather than to any personal inadequacy. If anything goes wrong, a man is most likely to say he did not have the proper equipment to do the job, or he says, *"Poz na ksero egho?"* "How was I to know?" or it is the fault of the government, or he has been deceived. Man's abilities, the villagers seem to believe, are always limited by the force of circumstances not entirely under his control—he has unexpected illnesses, he has more daughters than sons, rains come when crops need sun, governments establish regulations on matters in which he was not consulted; and since events such as these are part of the human condition, one or another of them is likely to be available for the explanation of any one man's shortcomings. *"O kakomiros,"* "the ill-fated one," the villagers may say of a man even in connection with routine mishaps. It is an epithet used often in the village and represents a compassion which does not derogate from the *filotimo* of the person referred to and counter-balances, to some extent, the frequent ridicule of the behavior of others.

Just as in Vasilika the avoidance of self-blame does not have the connotation of irresponsibility, so self-praise does not have the connotation of boasting. It is, rather, a necessary part of the maintenance of self-esteem. A host praises the food he is serving as he offers it to a guest; he talks of the accomplishments

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

of his children; he tells of his exploits in the town; and usually he is the hero of his own tales. And since this must be done without giving too much information away, the stories have some of the vagueness of fantasy. As the examples show, however, self-praise is likely to occur with visitors as a part of the process of establishing a basis for a relationship. It is the relative lack of such opportunity in a small village, where everyone knows everyone else, that accounts for some of the complaints of the villagers about the monotony of village life. As I said at the beginning of the chapter, a desire for chances to contrast oneself with others, to enter into new situations, seems to be a strong impetus to action among the villagers and, in fact, an important source of the enjoyment of life. The warmth and generosity with which strangers are welcomed—the rightly famous Greek hospitality—may perhaps be understood partly in these terms.

The foregoing examples are undramatic in contrast with the violent defense of his *filotimo* required of a man whose daughter or sister has been dishonored. They fail to indicate the startling sacrifices of resources and energies that entire families have made in Greece to give hospitality to strangers or to protect fugitives of one kind or another, or the courage and daring with which a man may commit himself to a hazardous enterprise to express his honor and his sense of manhood. Such expressions of *filotimo* have been reported again and again from various regions of Greece.

The pattern of life in Vasilika, however, permits few opportunities for such dramatic incidents. A hazardous enterprise for our villagers cannot be a dangerous voyage in a strong sea, but must be, for example, a change from cotton to melon cultivation with an awareness of the risk involved. But the lack of extravagant situations should not obscure the underlying current of *amour propre* which characterizes the villagers—whether it be the sense of shame or of honor. For it exists and is always evident in the sensitivity, the tension, which characterizes human relationships and makes so many encounters a possible source of hurt and ill-feeling, as well as a possible source of triumph and satisfaction.

Noncompetitive Social Groupings

It now becomes possible to analyze the social field of the villager's agonistic relationships. Although some degree of competition in human relations is always present, even if only in a mild, bantering form, there are some social groupings in which agonistic relations play a minor part. The most significant of these is the elementary family. The unity of family goals and the dependence of each person on the others in the family for the maintenance of self-esteem limit the extent to which the home can be a battleground; although a child acquires from the behavior and attitudes of his parents, brothers, and sisters toward him the skills with which to battle. The elementary family is not only the most important economic unit in Vasilika, it is also a unit of *filotimo* and *dropi* (honor and shame). Each individual's actions reflect on his parents and only to a slightly lesser extent on his brothers and sisters and therefore contribute to the family's self-esteem. Since, as has been suggested, one expression of individual *filotimo*

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

000 562 521 829 different from each other for that. In the farming life of the village, men and women work, for the most part, at different tasks inside the households and in the fields. Men go to the coffeehouses alone and talk politics among themselves, women do neither; men do not discuss politics with women. In 1956, at a time the men of the village were agitated over the Cyprus issue (as was the entire Greek nation), a woman announced to a group of other women one morning that the English had hanged two young terrorists on Cyprus. Only one other woman in the group of five knew what she meant, and one of the group had so little knowledge that she asked, "What is Cyprus?"

562 [834] [576] The strength of the conceptual differentiation of men and women in the village may be judged from the expectation that the women will give men the kind of deference the young give the old. Men assign to women, and women accept for themselves, some other attributes of the young: modesty; greater emotionality and sensibility and, therefore, a longer continuing struggle for self-control; less rationality; and a greater vulnerability, which necessitates assistance from their menfolk and from the supernatural.

[594] Americans are struck by the separateness of the preoccupations and activities of men and women in Vasilika. Men and women meet only with respect to their joint family obligations—the responsibilities of procreation and of supporting their children. Among the villagers there is even an atmosphere of covert mutual dislike between the sexes. Men express contempt for what interests women and vice versa. The spheres of activity in which men and women support each other have to do with the honor of the family and constitute a division of labor based on sex but with a curiously sexless quality. There is no mutuality between the sexes in the village when the needs of masculinity or the needs of [577] femininity are involved. The women have little patience with, and may even fear, [828] male extravagance in efforts to maintain *filotimo;* men have little patience with emotional crises in females.

It is difficult to write of these characteristic attitudes without creating a distorted picture of women as an inferior sex and of males and females at war with each other. The male-centeredness of Greek village society is undeniable; but [834] neither are women wholly without rights. For example, the avoidance of places where men gather is a form of modesty, as I have suggested, and not an admission of inferiority. Women have their own conversational groups of working [594] neighbors which men do not join. In addition, the economic functions of the dowry and the residual control women maintain over it gives them considerable voice in the decisions made within the family.

562 593 Finally, the residual equality of a common humanity which appears in the reciprocal comments and suggestions between people in superordinate and subordinate positions—at least in the village—again mitigates the severity of the relationship betwen the sexes. Nor should we leave the subject without mention of the accommodation many couples make to their marriages or of the frequent development of mutual affection between husband and wife who find themselves compatible as individuals once they have worked together to raise a family. What I wish to explain here is that mutual respect and affection between a married couple can develop in Vasilika, but that in order for it to do so, the husband and

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

an individual's or family's *filotimo* would be considered severely damaged if they stole from a stranger to whom hospitality had been offered; in fact, such thefts are very rare in any Greek village. Within Vasilika itself, there was some petty filching now and then, but it did not occur on the scale one would have expected from the frequent references to theft and thieving in conversation.

The inhospitality of people in other places was a frequent topic of conversation at the homes of those celebrating name days. A man could always raise a laugh by describing the ludicrously meager food and drink provided at a wedding or name day celebration he had attended at another village. Usually in response to any questions about the occurrence in Vasilika of deviant behavior, or of some form of discord, or of some moral transgression, the villagers began by making a general statement of denial. Such things happened in other villages, they would say, but not in Vasilika.

It would seem from the foregoing that Vasilika's population did, indeed, identify itself with the village as an entity. Vasilika is their *patridha*, and it must be thought to have good qualities, I believe, because the village's qualities reflect on its inhabitants both in their status as individuals and as families. Pride in the village, then, may be an extension of pride in oneself or one's family, and the functional consequences for village-wide enterprises of the existence of such pride depend on the strength of the competing sources of satisfaction.

In Vasilika, since farms may be maintained by the labor of the elementary family with only periodic requirements for a larger labor force, since sons and daughters leave the village and yet maintain relationships with those still in Vasilika, and since individuals can expect to give and to receive protection from their families, the forces leading toward either independence or family solidarity would appear to be strong enough to leave little energy for village-centered activities as a method of augmenting self-esteem. Nevertheless, the village as an entity constitutes a permanent potential source of satisfaction for its inhabitants, and now and then, under certain circumstances, the village itself becomes the primary object of loyalty for its population and commands some sacrifice. The boundary dispute with Parori was such an occasion for Vasilika. Moreover, any individual can, if he wishes, use his energies when he occupies an official position to gain improvements for the village as a means of enhancing his own self-esteem and of gaining the respect of the villagers, as long as he does not do so at the expense of his own children. The people of Vasilika are entirely willing to enjoy and to speak proudly of the electricity, or the piped water, or the better roads in Vasilika, once they have obtained them, even if they are not always willing to work together to achieve the improvements.

But Vasilika, as a village, must compete with another focus of loyalty for its inhabitants besides the family: Greekness itself—and the Greek nation as a political entity. The villagers' awareness of and pride in their Greekness is profound. In 1956 when we were questioning the children as to what they wanted to be when they grew up, several boys answered that they hoped God would let them grow strong and sturdy so that they could be good soldiers and go to "Fight for Cyprus." Moreover, the villagers associate certain qualities with Greek ethnicity: the desire for political independence and the willingness

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/45 cont./

Sickle	2	40	
Axes	1	70	
Wagons	1	2,500	
			4,200
		Grand total	31,510

[422]
[435]
[412]

A one crop farm does not offer regular income year after year. Due to diversity of climatic conditions there are on the average 3 good years to one poor year. Because of the recent settlement of the farmers their needs are great not only for their families but also for their farms, such as tools, animals, stables, barns, better houses and payment of their loans. The poor years increase the debts of the farmer tremendously and if unable to pay them he tries to find a refuge by telling lies. [426] [577]

The Pattern of Land use. One of the greatest troubles that the farmer of Megali Vrisi has is in getting to and from his fields. His share of land which is composed of 45 stremas (10 1/2 acres), is divided into 7 fields. The smallest piece is 1/4 of an acre and the largest 2 acres. The government in its endeavor to give equal chance to all farmers has divided the land into /46/ 7 categories according to fertility and the distance from the village. Thus the nearest field is 1/5 of a mile and the farthest one is 4 1/2 miles. This type of division, besides consuming time to and from the fields and tiring the animals with unnecessary walking, also reduces the productiveness through poor management of the fields. Rotation is neglected since the farmers having their fields in certain section have to agree on crop plantation with their neighbors. The fencing of the individual fields is impossible and anyone can pasture any field after the crops are removed. There is a law that gives the right of pasturing the fields by anyone after the crops are removed.

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We can summarize the good and bad points for such a distribution of land.

Advantages:

1. Gives equal opportunity to each farmer to have equal share of fertile as well as of infertile land.

allow time to dictate to them in private life; and Athenian newspapers, announcing the hour of the lecture, have to remind people that it is important to be prompt at such affairs. When they deviate from old Greek ways and values, they often do so with awareness and with regret, and the deviation is not profound.

VIEW OF THE SELF

Foremost in the Greek's view of the self is his self-esteem. It is impossible to have good relations with Greeks unless one is aware of this, the Greek *philotimo*. It is important to pay tribute to it, and to avoid offending it, or, as the Greeks say, molesting it. Everyone has his *philotimo*, as an individual, as a member of a family, and, most of all, as a Greek. On this rests Greek individualism, since it is sheer being which is respected, not position in the world or achievement. On this rests Greek democracy and equality, since everyone, both as a person and as a Greek, is equal to everyone else, neither superior nor inferior. Any Greek bootblack is equal to the king, to whom he may refer familiarly as *coumbaros*, wedding sponsor, until some political agitator points out to him that the king is not Greek by descent, and therefore does not merit loyalty or respect as an equal. This does not mean that there is lacking a balance of roles or interpersonal structuring; but these relationships of interdependence, of leader and followers, of division of areas of responsibility and work, are not cast in the mould of superiority and inferiority. Inferiority comes only with the forfeiting of the *philotimo*.

On the *philotimo* also rests Greek nationalism. A man may be ignorant and poor, but when his country is threatened, it is his right and privilege to shed his blood on the altar of Greek freedom along with every other Greek, whatever his district, however wealthy or educated. Again, he shares with every other Greek a common glorious past. A small island, speaking of its illustrious sons, lists the New York chiropractor of today next to the philosopher of 2,400 years ago. A Greek, speaking about his culture, makes statements such as: "The Greeks have been hospitable since the time of Homer." Even learned treatises, such as a paper on present-day medicine, often begin with the glorious work of the ancient Greek thinkers. This is what each Greek esteems in himself, what constitutes his *philotimo*: his personal being, his status within a family, village, district, and, second to none, his Greekness.

The Greek *philotimo* is easily bruised, or molested; and a Greek addressed in a completely objective manner, or hearing himself or his way of life described in harsh scientific terms, is greatly offended. Where an American journalist or scientist, writing about his culture, feels the need to be objective, to uncover the facts, a Greek presents

each fact wrapped in some subjective, protective covering. The fact is true and dependable, but it should not be naked. A memorandum of fact by a Greek is full of such phrases as: "Then the nobleness of the Greek soul was revealed," or "The Greek peasant modestly died . . . to protect his beloved country, but his death was one of the noblest sacrifices to the idea of liberty." Or, if Greeks have to criticize, they do it with oratory also, reviling passionately, as when a mother scolds a loved one with fury but not with cold and calculating anger.

The covering of the naked fact is essential to the integrity—the absence of all molestation—of the *philotimo*. The inner core of the Greek must never be exposed; and *entrope*, the Greek word for shame, modesty, decency, propriety, self-consciousness, embarrassment, means: "turning inward." This is a concept both positive and negative: you have done something shameful only because you have failed in the positive aspect, in modesty and decency. Out of *entrope*, a Greek avoids saying things and doing things which would reflect on the *philotimo* of himself, his family, his country. For example, the self-made man in Greece does not boast of his rags-to-riches progress. This would expose the poverty of his village, the inability of his family to help him, the fact that his uncle or his godfather could not or did not do his duty by him; it would expose much that should remain decently covered, and would further prove him to be lacking in *philotimo*.

The Greek *philotimo* should not be confused either with the notion of face or with that of pride. Pride for the Greeks carries with it the connotation of arrogance: "the proud bird is caught by the nose". A Greek mother is not proud of her son: she is honoured by him; the *philotimo* is enhanced through honour, not pride. There is something of the notion of face, in that it is insupportable to have one's failures and needs known. But there is more than this; what is really bad is that you yourself should expose your failure or yourself. And you have no *philotimo* if you avoid going to fight for your country, whether anyone knows this or not.

The essence of *philotimo* is inviolability and freedom. The first means that a Greek is very "touchy". In a very popular work of the thirties, which gives a humorous report of the cases in the Court of Petty Offences, a large proportion of the cases arise out of this molestation of the *philotimo*. The reaction is immediate, either in scathing invective, such as name-calling, or as physical attack. Offence against one's *philotimo* brings retaliation, not self-reproach. There are suicides in Athens for financial reasons, or for love, but none are reported as a result of a molested *philotimo*.

Freedom is the positive aspect of this. Greeks say: "To be a Greek means to be free," and "Nothing is beautiful unless you are free, not even the flowers in the spring."[1] It gave the Greeks a great sense of

[1] Joanne Lee Schriver, 1947.

freedom to defy Hitler, in the sure knowledge that their country would be overrun and occupied if they did so. During the occupation, they remained free; little children risked their lives to do absolutely unnecessary things such as defacing Nazi posters, giving expression to their essential freedom. The morale of the people was upheld by their knowledge that they had not forfeited their freedom, and that they had been defeated only technically, not man-to-man, but by monstrous machines. External coercion without internal submission has no bearing on the maintenance of the *philotimo*.

To suggest to a Greek that he needs aid in raising his standard of living because his ways are backward is to violate his *philotimo* as a person and as a Greek. There is need for aid now because of acts of God, not because of personal failure or Greek inadequacy. Until the government centralized aid in the Department of Welfare, and to some extent thereafter, Greek families and communities took care of their own indigents or dependents. The Greeks who emigrated to the United States before the change and formed conservative communities in their new country continued to take care of their own unemployed and orphaned; they were adapting the village pattern; besides, their *philotimo* would not allow them to expose to outsiders their failure and inadequacy. However, Greeks will accept aid when it is their right within a structured relationship; they will accept it as their share from the nation for which they have fought, or from the nation which they have helped in its war against the forces of evil; and Greeks stand firm in the knowledge that they were vital in bringing about the defeat of the Nazis by delaying Hitler's plans. They will also accept help without losing their *philotimo* when the need comes through an act of God. Their ways of making a living are adequate under normal circumstances; but now, because of destruction, occupation, soil erosion, loss of the right to emigrate, they need technical assistance to achieve a standard of living which is their right as Greeks and as persons. They can accept help also because the need is common to all the Greeks. During the war they said, not "See what I have come to," but "See what the nation has come to!" and then their situation was bearable. The office which is in charge of the ECA activities now reminds the people of the different villages that the destruction has been nationwide, that the need applies to all the Greeks, and so makes it bearable, and saves their *philotimo*. More than this, the government now appeals for self-participation in rebuilding the homes and the villages in the name of their *philotimo* as Greeks; to exert themselves as their sons exerted themselves in war, "to show the world what the Greeks can do in peace as well as in war".

10: Lee E,I-4,5 (no date) 1953
EH1 Greece EH1

IMAGERY OF SELF

The image of the self includes that of the body and of the personality: the person. Life is structured and experienced according to the rhythm and patternings of the body, and ethics are defined by personal relationships, loyalties and roles, just as society is structured according to the physiological relationships of the body. The imagery which a lover uses to describe the body of his beloved is that which is used to praise the personal qualities of an adored leader.

There is no reference to softness in any of the personal folk songs of the Greeks, the dystichs directed toward a loved one, the lullabies, the dirges composed for a relative. The beloved is commonly likened to a tree, sometimes to a fruit tree, but most commonly to a cypress—slim, straight, tall, hard, resistant—"I embrace a cypress tightly," sings a lover. The body is likened to hard, cold substances. The neck of the beloved is made of crystal; the breasts are of marble, in the rare references found in impersonal folk songs. A lover sings: "All night I lay embracing gold."

Firmness and straightness are extremely desirable personal qualities. Babies were swaddled to keep them from going crooked and to make their backs firm. The gesture of mother love is one of holding a firm, stiff, straight bundle against the breast, not the crooking of the arms to accommodate a cuddling body. Firm and straight also is the ideal personality. Parents are urged to be firm of will with their children from birth, and to see that the children develop steadfastness. When Eleutherios Venizelos died, the leading Athenian newspaper wrote: "The cypress is fallen."

Cold, also, is attractive as well as admirable. To call a girl "cold water" is to call her attractive and desirable. Coldness and flowers are on a par in the folk songs, and lovers walk together among the flowers, or on snowy slopes. Hotness means a lack of control, unthinking response. Grief is hot, and tears wither the grass and trees they water. Love as suffering also burns: a lover sighs and 3,000 trees burn up. It is common for a passing youth to say to a girl, "You burn my heart."

The body image is the image of the Greek character. Fortitude and hardihood, firm will, a love of simplicity in food, entertainment, furnishings, the standard of living in general, are common traits. Greeks will smoke only a few cigarettes a day, drink within measure and eat in moderation; excess is disliked. Fortitude is an ever-present quality; the *philotimo* brooks no calculation of danger or pending pain before a step is taken. If a thing is worth doing, the price to be paid for it is irrelevant; and you are able to do it because you are strong and firm. You do not even ask yourself ahead of time whether you have the necessary fortitude; a Greek takes no inventory of himself because from the time he was a baby, his parents saw to it that

he grew straight a· . nard, and because he knows himself to be a Greek. A current book on child care warns parents not to take many toys to a sick child, not to clown for his amusement, lest this spoil him. Going to bed also is a sign of weakness except for recognized disease. A man cannot seek solace in bed for fatigue or indisposition, lest he appear to be giving in to a desire for pampering. Even to fall asleep is to give in; the term is "sleep caught me".

It is difficult to give this picture attractively, to show how there is warmth within this firmness, exuberance within the austerity, and within the discipline. Yet discipline is a positive, liberating, guiding element in the Greek personality: the simple life is a joy and is also freeing, since it creates few demands, few dependencies on the external. Self-discipline and self-control are not prohibiting; they are incentive. They are not the application of discipline to the self, but rather a way of behaving. There is nothing inconsistent with these traits when, in voting on an important issue by roll call, a member of parliament answers, "Five thousand times, yes", or when white pigeons are released in the House by the victorious party. This is appropriate exuberance, just as the fiery reaction to a violation of the *philotimo* is appropriate and within the channel of discipline. There is joy and dignity in hard work, not compulsiveness; there is joy in walking an hour and a half to and from the field twice a day over difficult ground. American visitors are taken for a walk by a young Greek village girl or even a child, and return exhausted. There is a revelling in sheer exertion, in sheer fortitude. There is nothing grim about it, neither is there boasting. Greeks may boast about their achievements, but not of their character, which they take for granted as Greek.

The organs of highest significance are the eyes. They are the seat of the person. With them, lovers and friends communicate, and they are the pre-eminent medium of enjoyment. Love comes through the eyes, and the eyes are mentioned the most frequently in the personal poems. "We have not seen you" means "We missed you."

In the folk songs, a beloved's eyes shoot arrows, strike with a poisoned sword, catch a man in a net, they burn the heart or break it into pieces; they lead astray, they bewitch, they destroy. Glances are rarely sweet, and never soft or gentle, in the love dystichs. Here eyes are always black, perhaps because one is apprehensive if they are blue, the colour of the evil eye. It is difficult to overestimate the joy of sheer vision. The folk songs are full of the beauty of flowers and meadows and streams, of the sea with its fleet of sailboats, of the blue of the sky. In villages and towns, the people go strolling after work is done, calling this not a promenade, but *syryani*, "enjoyable viewing." When a long-absent loved one is returning, people congratulate, saying: "Light for your eyes."

Next to the eyes come the lips, but, red and sweet though they be, they are primarily important because of the words which come out

East Foundation, which have recognized this, have been successful in their relations with Greeks and in the introduction of desirable changes. They realized that they had to use not impersonal scientists but people who were predominantly leaders, with scientific knowledge, people who were willing to go and live in the villages, and make the acquaintance of the peasants over coffee in coffee houses. And the villagers fell in with the proposals for new hygienic methods and child care and artificial insemination because they had respect for and faith in the man who made the proposals. And where schemes introduced in the name of self-interest did not succeed, those introduced in the name of the respected leader did. "For your sake" is a common sanction. The continuous presence of the leader is not, however, necessary once the personal loyalty is there. In recent years, foreign experts have made the mistake of operating mainly from Athens, living in hotels catering to foreigners, of moving in foreign circles, and making no personal contact with the Greeks, thus creating difficulties for themselves and raising obstacles to the effectiveness of their missions. Greek families receiving CARE parcels impersonally, make great efforts to attach a person to the name of the sender; they often write very personal letters, trying to send photographs of themselves, "so that you can see us". In Greece there are no political bosses, since a man's vote is too personal, too much bound by personal loyalty, to be swayed by self-interest. On the other hand, we do find demagogues, who by sheer oratory and force of personality can inspire loyalty to themselves, and thereby, to their ideas. If there are irregularities at the polls, they come about not through the selling of one's vote, but through an attempt to vote several times in an impassioned effort to ensure the election of the chosen candidate.

Greek ethical conduct is personal also. A plea in the name of humanity or of kindness is meaningless to most Greeks; and only recently, in Athens, which has been affected by foreign ideas, did a plea in the name of the suffering peasants find true response. An organization called Friends of the Village was formed, and the aid given is by specific persons to specific people or families, in terms of a personal relationship. A peasant woman, writing to such a "Friend" in Athens, accepts the gift with ease and gratitude saying: "You are now my sister, and your family is my family."

Americans, who excel in impersonal kindness, are always surprised to see their human, warm, generous Greek friends remain unmoved and unresponsive in the face of suffering strangers. Greeks, on the other hand, are surprised to see their kind American friends giving according to figures on a piece of paper, according to what they can afford. In giving, Greeks deprive themselves of the very necessities of life, impoverish and even bankrupt themselves; but they recognize their responsibility to give only where personal relations are involved.

This is also true where truthfulness, honesty, loyalty and obedience

577 are concerned. Greek parents are agreed that the principal thing to
867 teach their children is to be honest and to tell the truth; but this, of course, means to be honest in their dealings with their parents and other relatives and all the friends of these, and with people who value them and trust them as persons. Honesty in abstraction is not a virtue, and may even be branded as foolishness. Loyalty also is never to
577 something abstract, like the government, which is equated with
67 impersonal law. Loyalty is to the Greek nation, to Greece, the mother
[619] of the people, to personified freedom, but not to "the Greeks" who are unknown. Profiteering and dealings on the black market were not considered bad, because they circumvented only impersonal law and showed disloyalty only to the government and to the unknown Greeks; actually they were good in terms of the family, to whom an individual owes his loyalty.

577 Responsibility is not social responsibility but family responsibility,
602 or it might be extended to friends and to the village. With loyalty
[661] evoked only in personal relations, it follows that Greeks cannot be impartial in awarding jobs or distributing goods. To take care of one's own first, irrespective of merit or of an order of priority, is one's duty; it means fulfilling one's role. Yet impartiality, just because it is so difficult to maintain in the face of strong forces and temptations to "bend", and devotion to an abstract ideal of honesty, just because it is saintly, are highly admired in Greece—though perhaps not by the immediate relatives of the impartial man. Such people inspire what amounts to worship.

577 Co-operation in this framework is actually mutual aid, one person
[406] helping the other, or it is loyalty to the leader who initiates a co-operative undertaking, with men contributing their work for his sake, and women bringing gifts to him, which can be used incidentally for the undertaking.

[867] Obedience is very important and is taught to a child almost from
577 birth; but again, this is obedience within a structured whole, to the
602 parents, older siblings, and to people who stand in this relationship; that is, to friends of the parents or of older relatives, or appropriately introduced older people. Authority comes only from place in this
[849] structured whole, and obedience is only to people. Government is
671 not personal, and the law is external to the organic, structured whole. It is not the voice of Greece. There is therefore no obligation to obey the law; the guide to conduct here is expediency, and the ability to circumvent. Before the political centralization, there was obedience
[875] and lasting loyalty to the schoolteacher. Now he represents only the interfering authority of the government, and it is an accepted thing that the students should try to circumvent his authority in every way they can, playing tricks on him and otherwise treating him as an enemy, since he is outside of the web of their loyalties.

805 person is also just arriving, or, if they find him gone, they usually accept the fact with neither apology nor frustration.

STANDARD OF LIVING

511 The standard of living is set, not by a scheme, but by the needs of the person, shaped and channelled by family role, as well as by [109] disdain for softness and love of simplicity. Greeks do not budget, except for a very few who like to follow American ways. They spend not according to what they have, but according to the order of what [577] they want, and, on principle, they should want little. Simplicity and frugality are expressions of fortitude and self-discipline, and they are also really enjoyed as dimensions of living. Greeks are not motivated by the thought of great or vague or schematic future benefits; however, since the family is central to all planning, and since it extends into the future, Greeks try to see to it that there are means for the education of the son or the dowry of the daughter, or for an added field or a gold ornament for the wife. They have no faith in the future, and know that it will not take care of itself. So, as a rule, they buy only what they can pay for now and will not expand either business or standard of living on the basis of future profits.

[426] Greeks go in debt for subsistence and what they consider necessities. They do not like to borrow for luxuries, or for the creation of wealth. If they have enough for necessities, then any rise in income is sheer surplus. It does not have to go towards relieving the strain on the budget, or to pay a dreaded instalment on a radio, and, as a rule, it does not raise the standard of living. The Greek likes his life; [262] he does not see why he should give up his lunch of cheese and bread, or his delicious *commatiasta* (stews) just because now he can afford roast lamb every day. Such things belong to festive occasions. The surplus will be put back into the business, or saved intact for the family, or given in beneficence.

511 The wealthy Greek "of good family", that is, who has been properly 556 brought up, is not distinguished by luxurious living, since luxury is 457 soft and ostentatious. He is distinguished by his gifts to his country or village, by the battleship or stadium that bears his name, the village fountain or health centre which he established for his district. Large sums of money are sent annually to Greece by its emigrated sons for these purposes, as well as for the support or education or dowering of relatives, by people whose wives do their own housework. Greece has counted on these sums as an important source of income, and the economy of Greece now suffers from the effects of restricted emigration, since American-born Greeks lose contact with their parents' country, and fewer such sums are now being sent back.

"We moved to Athens as a family," said an islander, "my mother, her sisters and brothers, my grandfather, all the family." The Greek family is extensive, and in each case the term must be examined to find out what it includes. Second and third cousins are often in contact, and responsibility is felt for them also. They form links in the chain of relationship, so that personal contacts can be initiated. If a boy goes to Athens to attend the university, "if he has no uncles or other relatives, he rents a room". A Greek giving news usually speaks of "we" and the stock phrase beginning a letter is addressed to the plural "you", and refers to "we".

The father is in authority and he must be obeyed by all. A mother must be obeyed by the children, except when the oldest son has assumed the headship of the family. Older brothers are to be obeyed by the younger siblings. In conservative groups a son, whatever his age, has to be circumspect in the presence of his father; he may not smoke in his presence if the father objects to smoking. A father may not revel with his grown son at the tavern, and a considerate man, finding his son there, leaves the place. A wife waits upon her husband, and does not question his acts. If he fails her, if he becomes a drunkard or gambles away the family money, her *philotimo* will not allow her to reveal this, except, perhaps, to the priest. This is a matter of role and loyalty; it is not subservience. Greek women by tradition wait upon men, expect them to drink from the fountain first and to cross the bridge ahead of them; this does not make for inferiority, just as it does not make the American man inferior to wait for his wife to enter first, or to bring her water. The mother is a powerful and dominant figure, upholding fortitude and *philotimo*, sustaining her children in moral strength. There is no chivalry toward her in the village because there is respect for her. If her husband rides the only donkey, which she brought as dowry, while she walks behind him to the fields, it is because he considers her strong and able to do so. In the folk songs, girls are jealous of their rivals because they can wait on the man they love; this is the coveted role.

The relatives-by-marriage, the *sympetherica*, are also important in the Greek relationship group, and the older brother-in-law often functions as an older brother. The whole family is therefore concerned with the marital arrangements of the individual. Arranged marriages, with great stress on the dowry, were the rule until recent years, and are still common. The dowry persists, even when the marriage is individually arranged, and often interferes with higher education for the girls; money is spent for the sons' education, but must be saved for the daughters' dowry. Whether the dowry is demanded or not by the groom's family, it is to the honour of the bride's family to give it. In conservative areas and circles, girls still meet young men only in groups, still communicate with them only with their eyes or in secret correspondence and secret meetings; however, there is

178 out the mote to which the peasant's eye has become accustomed, and even has to take in consideration the fact that the eye is actually adjusted to the mote, and that its removal would mean at least temporary disruption.

[157] There is another side to the picture with respect to coping. Greeks are tenacious and resourceful in making the best of what they do have. A visitor reports that a gasoline tank that sprang a leak on the road was repaired with *loukoums*, the sticky Near Eastern candy; she reports having seen two men pushing freight cars along a railroad track, as the engine had been destroyed in the guerilla warfare. This attitude can be harnessed productively, and with benefit for people who derive a sense of enjoyment and achievement from it.

178 829 [995] The sanction of the Church in inaugurating any change is essential; and so too, is that of the past, in endorsing practice, as well as a precedent for the introduction of change. It is well to remember that Byzantium and its civilization was part of the Greek past; and to remember that Rome was not. The Romans were barbarians; the [854] manual on child care which urges mothers to suckle their babies like Penelope and the Trojan Hecuba, also urges them to give up the custom of swaddling the child's limbs, a barbarous and tyrannical custom practised by the ancient Romans. The past is mentioned in learned articles, in newspapers, in letters, in the oratorical conversation. It is part of the festive dressing of the naked statement.

177 178 507 The areas of vulnerability of the Greek *philotimo* must be remembered in all suggestions of change, as well as the pattern of relationships within which dependency is good and taken for granted. Greeks are ready to be treated as sons or nephews or younger brothers, within the balanced system of interdependency, and the United States Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA), which has been giving welcome aid to Greece, just now is often spoken of as Uncle Truman, after the President of the United States; but it would be an insult to treat them as poor relations who are dependent through personal failure. Again, to be treated mechanistically, impersonally, is offensive; there is resentment at the fact that some of the foreign experts stay at hotels catering to foreigners, associate only with Greeks who follow foreign ways, and treat the rest of the people like figures on a chart.

178 It is necessary to bear in mind that the Greeks have a deep attachment to their way of life, however much in need of change it may be in terms of more recent scientific and economic developments. There [312] [365] are reports that in the provinces people who can afford to pipe water to their houses will not do so because they do not want to deprive their women of the social visit at the fountain, and of the walk back and forth. There are communities that decide not to have electricity, not to buiid a hotel to accomodate the tourists who are attracted by the beauty of the place, so that they can retain the ways they like, time-consuming as they are.

mutual aid. The abstract end, unless it is part of the immediate, concrete situation, and unless it is implemented in terms of persons, is meaningless; what is meaningful, for example, is for the family group to work together toward the continued education or the dowering of one of its members; or of to the village community rebuild its destroyed coffee house together. A leader who has won the respect of the community, consulting and guiding rather than commanding, can create a co-operative unit derivatively; he enlists the personal loyalty of the people; the people will work for his sake and, incidentally, for his idea and proposed end. This remains within the personal framework.

Again, Greeks are *born into a group*, and many Greeks, except under foreign influences in the city, never *join* a group. They are born into the family, into the circle of family friends, into the village community; they do not have to please in order to belong, or to follow regulations. If they fail in their roles within these units, they are bad sons but they do not lose their membership. Only if they forfeit their Greekness in some way, perhaps turn traitor or change their religion, do they run the risk of being disowned. These are the units of co-operation, but they are rooted in the past, not created. There is no Greek equivalent of the word "group" so common in the speech of Americans; words such as *omas* (mass) and *somateion* (body) are used technically to apply to organizations. In school, the class becomes a group only in its opposition to the enemy, the teacher, in playing cruel tricks involving co-operation; otherwise, what we find, even in this opposition, is cheating for the sake of a weaker student, or support of one student by another. There are individual friendships here, individual evocations of honesty. The American Farm School at Salonika works hard at making students realize that they actually form a community at the school, and at teaching them to co-operate within this framework; and the school reports that eventually the students do learn the new co-operative pattern.

Honesty exists, and is expected and respected, only where kinship and personal relations have been established, on a basis of trust and respect for personal worth. In American schools in the cities, American teachers have managed to convince the students that they can trust them as friends, and have thus changed the teacher-student relationship into one of co-operation and honesty. Foreign technical assistants have often lived in a world of their own, in foreign circles, and failing to establish personal relations, have evoked mistrust and dishonesty. Honesty toward fellow members in a created group can be achieved as the result of honesty and loyalty towards the leader of the group. However, it should not be taken for granted; neither should the Greeks be charged with dishonesty. Their framework of honesty is different from that known to the industrialized society of the United States and Western Europe.